BETWEEN *the* LINES

THE LAYMAN'S INFORMATION SERVICE
Condensed, Non-Denominational

A report on inside trends, forecasts of significant developments, and other matters pertinent to Christian thinking on economics, labor, social strife, and international affairs.

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Religious Co-operation

An example of Catholic and Protestant co-operation was recently seen in New York when Cardinal Spellman and the Roman Catholic Archdiocese leased four Bronx buildings to the Protestant Episcopal Church for $1. a year.

This solved a housing problem for the Episcopalians who will use the structures for the activities of the Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society while the Episcopalian 83-year old St. Barnabas House in Manhattan (devoted to service to city children) is being re-built.

Cardinal Spellman had already made available another building to Protestant organization some weeks previously on which occasion he wrote to Episcopal Bishop Gilbert that the Catholics would defer plans for a general hospital on the site in order to "assist you in the solution of your problem which is, I believe, the responsibility of all the people of our city."

In short, Catholics and Protestants **can** and do co-operate in America. This proves that there is nothing in the two faiths that need prevent them from co-operating in Latin-America and Europe, where unfortunately religious strife and persecution has been so constant.

Protestant Underground

Too little is known among Protestants in this country of the part Protestantism has had in the changing patterns of Eastern Europe. From a Slovak Protestant newspaper, as reported by a Prague correspondent of the Christian Century and other sources, comes the following information. When the Nazis invaded Czechoslovakia in 1939 they used the Catholic priests in Slovak areas to stir up the movement for an independent Slovak state and thus destroy the strength and unity of the Czechoslovakian Republic. Protestants who opposed the move were regarded as "enemies of the state."

Thereafter, the Slovakian evangelical youth groups became

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CAPITALISM, as many of us speak of it, is like traveling on a luxury liner - with abundance for all needs. Each passenger may have almost complete freedom - eat what he wants and as much as he wants; he may wine and dance, play games or enjoy many other desirable pursuits. It is wonderful to live like that and anyone would be crazy not to prefer it to life on a raft! But when the ship sinks and men have taken to the rafts and life boats, food and drink and personal desires are put on a very different basis. Folks in that condition can't eat what they want or as much as they want or pursue whatever interests they desire. The severest forms of controls must be instituted for the benefit of all.

This is the situation as it exists today - between the U. S. and such countries as England, France, Italy and others. We have some folks in high places, who should know better, shouting at the English and French on the rafts, "You bunch of reds - whaddaya mean by dropping capitalism - we won't help you bunch of Socialists unless you live our way again!"

What men need now is understanding. If we don't develop more of it on our side, we may find ourselves looking at angry belligerent men on rafts - from over the rim of our own life boat!

X-Ray and Forecast

WAR OR REVOLUTION? In all the present conflict with the Russians our chief danger is the failure to understand the long-range plan for Communist expansion which has always been taught and followed by the masters of the Kremlin and the agents of the world Communist revolutionary parties. The recent revival of the Comintern, through the manifesto issued by Communist leaders in Europe, brings the danger of our blindness again into the foreground.

The political, military and industrial leaders of our capitalist world are thinking of communism almost entirely in terms of military conflict. Our news channels are always full of reports about the Russian army, Russian military developments, the expansion of Russian industry in terms of its relationship to war production. *Yet the chances are extremely remote that the expansion of communism* will ever be a task of the Russian military forces, (except in the case of resisting attacks that may be launched against Russia by the opposing capitalist nations to curb and destroy Communist expansion, - as in the instance of the Nazi invasion).

WHY NO WAR. That is why, when anyone asks Stalin if he thinks Russia and the U.S. will have war, he always says "No, there is no need of it," - while all of our leaders keep talking about war with Russia. To the Soviet leaders any such war - if it should come - would be but a side issue in the general pattern of a world revolutionary break-up. There is no evidence in all Communist doctrine since the time of Lenin that Russia hopes to use her armies to conquer the world by military invasion. The Communists have always taught that the expansion of communism would come through the break-down of the economic systems in capitalist countries and by the rise to power of Communist groups *native* to each such country. The sole place of Russia in the world revolt was that of teaching the Communist workers, furnishing them international links so that each organization could benefit by close

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U. S. - Russia Can Agree!

Not only did the U. S. and Russia find that they could agree on the Palestine question, but little is known of the fact that the American and Russian occupational forces in Berlin have found that they could agree on the educational program for the Germans. The program was not worked out jointly, but the Worldover Press has announced that the Russian and U. S. viewpoint and educational program for the Germans is almost identical and is achieving very satisfactory results. Also the Russians and Americans have had no trouble co-operating on the matter of the world's fur trade. The largest fur sales pavilion in the world is at Leningrad where fur auctions have been held recently. There were many American buyers there — and no international incidents!

The American buyers stayed at the Astoria Hotel and attended the auction sales in a building designed especially for the fur trade and the fur auctions. When the auction sales ended, the visiting buyers departed, but they left behind an American colony of resident fur buyers who live at the famous Hotel Metropole in Moscow and handle our relations with the Russians in connection with Russia's major export to the U. S. Actually these buyers represent the sole beach-head of American capitalism in socialist Russia. **So when socialist Russia has something that capitalist America wants,—they can co-operate nicely. It's where socialist Russia and capitalist America and Britain collide in the grab for oil, the control of trade routes and such that the fire works begin!**

Atomic Information

David Lilienthal, Chairman of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, is using every available opportunity to make some daring and challenging statements about the future of atomic energy in American life. As everyone knows, the American military tried to keep all information about atomic energy a top secret, but the mili-

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Religious Co-operation

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centers of the underground resistance. Young people—sometimes as many as 45,000 of them—ignored the official ruling prohibiting them from holding meetings and demonstrations against the Catholic-Nazi collaboration "government" led by Tiso the priest and sponsored by the Germans. The Nazi propagandists called the Protestant underground a network of "Lutherans and Bolsheviks." In 1944, as the Nazis began to suffer military reverses, this Protestant underground youth movement sought to lead in the over-throw of the Nazi control. But the effort failed and thousands of men were sent to concentration camps and the country was devastated. Many Protestant pastors and church workers were killed.

When the war ended and the Russians took over, both Catholic and Protestant schools were closed and all religious young people's organizations were dissolved. The Protestants have, however been receiving increasing consideration and freedom as the Russians have become aware of their leading part in the resistance movement. Although Catholic churches and priests are now left entirely unmolested, many Catholic leaders have been arrested and imprisoned for their collaboration with the Nazis. The collaboration leader, Priest Tiso, was hanged in Bratislava last April. It is out of this situation that the Catholic hierarchy in America have brought so many widespread charges that religion was being "persecuted" in eastern Europe.

On the other hand, authentic reports have been received in this country concerning a new Communist movement among the younger Catholic priests of Slovakia. Father Jozef Straka, who holds a Communist party membership card, is sponsoring a program to distribute a million acres of Catholic Church land to the peasants as a part of the Russia-promoted land reforms. Thirty-four other priests have joined with him and become members of the Communist party.

Proof

The Catholic hierarchy of America is constantly charging that religion is being suppressed in all eastern Europe under Russian domination. But the Religious News Service (which serves all denominations, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish) has reported recently (in the Episcopal Churchman, the N. Y. Times and other leading papers) many instances which reveal the inaccuracy of the war-breeding publicity so widely circulated in America.

Catholic Freedom

From Prague comes such evidence of Roman Catholic freedom as the instance of a hundred

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X-Ray and Forecast *(continued)*

co-operation with all other such efforts and to provide whatever support possible to nourish and maintain these international Communist links. This is the heart and sole purpose of the repeated international Communist manifesto and *it has never included the support of invading Russian armies.*

OUR SMOKE SCREEN. *The vast majority of American spokesmen keep up a self-blinding smoke screen concerning a Russian military "Pearl Harbor," - a sudden Russian attack against the U. S. Groping around in our own smoke screen, we are blind and unprepared for what IS actually going to happen and what is happening now.*

RUSSIAN AIMS. While we drain off so much of our energy and treasure to get ready to *fight* Russia, they are concentrating on two major paths of action which might be called the master plan for world revolution. *The first part of that plan is to win the masses of Asia to the Communist viewpoint and to friendly co-operation with Russia. The second part, to promote the establishment of either Communist states in Europe or Socialist states that will be sympathetic and co-operative with Russia.*

The first aim, the Russians believe, can be achieved through the white man's own stupidity. And it looks very much as if they are right in their estimate! During the past few years, it has been increasingly obvious that the white imperial system was crumbling, and that the western white man should be trying earnestly to win the co-operation and friendship of the colored peoples of Asia on a new basis of co-operation and goodwill. But the white man has been blind to these changes until it was too late. Now the hatred for the western white world on the part of the millions of colored peoples of Asia has become fallow ground for Communist intrigue.

Already newsmen in Asia report that a plan is being pushed to unify Southeast Asia into a pro-Communist group. Left-wing leaders in at least six countries are working to swing Asia's resources and populations into the Soviet sphere of influence.

American observers in Asia predict that the countries most ripe for a pro-Communist Asiatic union include Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, India, Burma.

CHINA CONFUSION. Unfortunately the confused American policy in China has only aided the growth of a strong left swing through that part of Asia. In our efforts to bolster the capitalist system there we have been compelled to support the most vicious type of reactionary elements. In the past Chiang Kai Shek has been afraid to strike out for a real democratic program in China, knowing that British and American interests there would undermine any such effort he made. But now with England out of the Empire business and with American interests split in their support of China, Chiang is left on the edge of a precipice. American commercial interests still have large investments in China (oil, tobacco, shipping, liquor, etc.) Wall Street is still backing China's worst reactionaries, while the American public are wishing for a middle ground democracy in China. So while the Russian army is no threat to China, there are strong Chinese armies, under Chinese leadership, and Gen. Marshall himself testified on his return from China that there was no evidence that Russia was even supplying the Chinese Communist armies. It is the hunger and chaos in China (much of which we of the West have caused) that is advancing communism, not marching Russian troops.

EUROPEAN HOPES. In Europe much the same situation prevails. All the talk now centers on the Marshall plan, - but will the Marshall plan be used to support the decaying feudal regimes of the past (upon which the only capitalism Europe has ever known has been based), or will American aid be used to help European people *find their own way?*

Unless the Marshall plan is used as a dictator-type weapon, it will be impossible to restore an American kind of capitalism in Europe (and such a forced capitalism would never last long for that would be in itself a denial of free enterprise). Two awful wars have convinced millions in Europe that huge industrial monopolies and international cartels helped destroy their lands and homes; this is why they voted for the nationalization of certain key industries, - actually a partial socialism. Because the Europeans paid such a desperate and desolate price for war, they

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thousand Catholic pilgrims visiting a small village near Ntira, Slovakia, where three shepherd girls are reported to have seen apparitions of the Virgin Mary. From Warsaw comes the news that special housing has been built by Roman Catholic Church authorities for visitors to a famous national shrine dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Accommodations will provide for four thousand pilgrims at a time,—with a million pilgrims expected during the year. Warsaw Catholic organizations have also launched a campaign to raise the equivalent of $300,000 for reconstruction of St. John's Cathedral, destroyed during the war. Most of the money will be raised through sale of medals and other religious articles. Also in Poland three important Roman Catholic weeklies and several smaller religious publications, suspended during the war, have resumed publication, while two thousand students are enrolled at present in the Catholic University of Lublin, Poland, which was restored by a national fund-raising drive after having been damaged during the war.

In Budapest, the list of candidates prepared by the Communist Party contained the names of ten Catholic priests and Protestant ministers, whereupon the Roman Catholic press agency warned that priests cannot run for office as candidates without the approval of church authorities and stated "it is unthinkable, in view of the Papal encyclicals, that priests should be on the list of Communist candidates".

In view of these numerous enlightening every-day reports, we see that even the Catholics are allowed normal religious activity in eastern Europe.

The "religious persecution" propaganda line is constantly kept at a white heat in America to drive us toward war with Russia. BETWEEN THE LINES has never sought to defend any of Russia's actions. But war breeds deception, — the antidote for war is truth.

Government Structure

One of those quite seldom-discussed but extremely significant enterprises is the Hoover survey of the vast structure of the Federal Government. It is conceded that Herbert Hoover is the most qualified of all living persons for the task. Much of the wastage, graft and inefficiency in Government is due simply to poorly set-up and badly designed organizations. It will be several years (the survey is to take 15 months) before the benefit of this reform will be felt but it should go far toward making democracy work better in our increasingly complex society.

Atomic Information

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tary control was broken by the nuclear scientists themselves. Already the powerful privately-owned public-utility corporations are preparing to do all they can to keep atomic energy from becoming a great flood of inexpensive power, light and heat for the American consumer—which would of course ruin the profitable private control of public power resources as of today. Read Mr. L.'s words carefully, — gathered from several sources. They are most important. Mr. L. warns that there is "dangerous nonsense, dangerous to genuine national security, in this growing tendency in some quarters to act as if atomic energy were none of the American public's business".

He urges that all citizens inform themselves of the "essentials of atomic energy as an obligation directly to your children, to your grandchildren or to those likeable youngsters next door.

"If schemers, or fools, or rascals, or hysterical stuffed shirts get this thing out of your hands," he warned, "it may then be too late to find out what it is all about."

He has stated further, "We must make sure that the American people will have a say-so, and a decisive say-so, in the adjustments these discoveries (in the peacetime uses of atomic energies) will bring in community life, in our agriculture, educational, industrial and military institutions. You must make dead sure that your public servants in all branches of your Government, civil and military, legislative and executive, all understand clearly that atomic energy is your business, the people's business.

"Atomic science will stimulate a whole new world of other discoveries. This is already happening and will continue. And it can be made pretty much to the good —good for you in your town, good for peace and decency and human freedom. But you must not, at your peril, let those new technical advances get out of your power to control and direct. I warn you that this must not happen or the essence of the American scheme of things will be lost."

Mr. Lilienthal says that the American people, to prevent this from happening, must make it their business to learn the basic facts about atomic energy. Enough of these facts are available and understandable to provide a background upon which to form intelligent judgments.

Other issues that Mr. L. feels the public must be familiar with include: the kind and size of Navy, Army and Air Force needed in the light of new scientific warfare developments; the intelligence of proposals that we go underground; the practicality of decentralizing cities for defense; how fast atomic fuel may replace

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CONVERSATION ACROSS THE CENTURIES

So many of our leaders are saying today that the only hope of our world is in a spiritual resurgence that will restore the world's sense of moral justice and righteousness. Yet so far that resurgence has not come. There are enough Christians in the world to bring it . . . . over 600 million of them! Certainly that should be enough. But perhaps something besides numbers is needed. There were not many Christians in those early centuries after Christ, but they turned their world upside down. How did they do it, - and why can't we do it? They had power because religion with them was a personal experience of power and redemption. They could bring such a message to the generations around them effectively because they had experienced this transformation themselves. Religion can not mean much in a general way until it has meant much in a personal way:

X-Ray and Forecast *(continued)*

feel they had the right - and the need - to set-up some safer economic basis for the future. Thus the new Europe is predominantly Socialist, - and it is conceded by all informed observers that the old European capitalism is gone forever. It is further agreed that Europe faces two alternatives, - either the nations of western Europe (including Austria and Germany) continue to keep controls in the hands of the people in the direction of partial socialism, - or they will gradually turn toward communism. However jolting this may sound to all who share an ardent faith in the capitalist system, it is the most important FACT about Europe today, - the choice . . . partial socialism . . . or communism. There's no other possibility and even the French and Czech Catholic parties have accepted it to the point of voting for nationalization of key industries.

The de Gaulle victory in France is being falsely hailed in many American circles as a victory against socialism. But while it is a swing away from communism, it is a definite turn toward a Fascist-Catholic socialism like that of Peron in Argentina.

But many American Congressmen are preparing to fight any part of the Marshall plan that does not directly support the reestablishment of capitalism in Europe. Senator Ferguson has announced, "We must curb the spread of socialism as well as communism (in Europe). Representative Buffett has said, "We are underwriting the transformation from free enterprise and capitalism into what you might call British communism or French communism - at any rate, it's socialism."

Obviously these men are confusing Britain's Socialist Democracy with the Russian system, - but you can see what they will do with the Marshall plan.

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Co-op Department Store

The first department store to be owned and operated by a consumer co-operative organization is to be opened soon in Arlington, Virginia. It will serve 22,000 families in a great housing project center. It has been announced by the co-op leaders that this large 3-story air-conditioned department store will serve as a personnel training center for the nationwide chain of co-operative department stores envisioned by the late Edward A. Filene when he founded and endowed the Consumer Distribution Corporation. (Mr. F. was a millionaire department store owner of Boston who believed in co-ops, transformed his own giant Boston store into an employee co-op and left his fortune for the promotion of co-ops).

The next two co-op department stores will be opened in Providence, R. I. and in Irvington, N. J.

Atomic Information

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coal, oil and water power as a source of electricity; the workability and wisdom of censorship of press and radio in order to maintain secrecy in this field during peace.

In view of this program of information which Mr. L. insists upon, it can easily be seen why his appointment was so bitterly opposed by military cliques and the spokesmen for the great private power monopolies who label all Government programs for cheaper power, light and heat for the American people as "socialistic" or "communistic".

Public power developments could become socialistic or communistic, if the general tide carried it that way. **But cheap power for the farmer, small manufacturer,—the little people—was never within reach until Government power projects proved the feasibility of such widespread developments and forced the hand of the private power groups who were following the scarcity—stabilized high profit philosophy—and would not budge.**

Pressure on News

"The world is still blind drunk with the propaganda generated by all the nations which fought in World War II," said Karl A. Bickel, former president of the United Press, in a recent interview. He urged the governments to get out of the propaganda business and away from the control of news. Most newspaper publishers resent implications that the people don't get the truth, but men like Karl Bickel, who served for years in Europe and Asia and was head of one of the world's biggest news agencies, have a lot to say about the suppression and warping of the news.

Many editors would print the truth if they could get it—but the

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Pressure on News

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pressure is exerted long before the news reaches the editor's desk. Then if the news is started on its way without censorship, it must run the gauntlet of huge advertising interests. Witness the fact that while drunkenness is the cause of a high proportion of crimes and accidents, how seldom the news of such incidences mentions intoxication. The pressure of liquor advertising is one of the most insidious elements in today's news. The pressure of privately-owned public utilities, giant food and drug corporations, department stores, and many other forces in command of large advertising revenue, control much of what America thinks.

Is News Free?

There is considerable evidence that news is only free in much of America when that news conforms to the opinions of wealthy men who own the press. In Alabama, an able young editor, Charles G. Dobbins, thought that the development of cheap power for poor farmers was news and worthy of some good reporting concerning how the Rural Electric Administration had been aiding such projects in Alabama. But the wealthy publisher of the Montgomery Advertizer didn't want that kind of news in his paper . . . he wanted news that would criticize and block the development of cheap power for poor farmers. The young editor stood his ground on freedom of the press and freedom of speech. But he was discharged from the Montgomery Advertizer where—as in hundreds of other American papers—freedom means freedom to please the boss.

We may be grateful that there are exceptions to this situation and that freedom of the press does exist in some American cities as far as publishers are concerned. A few of the larger papers considered most fair and unbiased in handling the news include: the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the Milwaukee Journal, the N. Y. Times, the N. Y. Post, the Chicago Sun, the Washington Post, the San Francisco Chronicle, the Atlanta Constitution. But even these will usually swing in line with the preferences of wealth and the advertising dollar when the issue is sharply drawn.

Nationalization Trends

Public opinion polls have revealed that 63 per cent of the American people do not favor the nationalization of the American banks and 22 per cent do favor the nationalization of the American financial system . . . 15 per cent said they were undecided. But the banking leaders are worried. They know that folks with money in the bank are not so inclined to make changes as folks who have lost what they had in the bank. A few hard

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X-Ray and Forecast *(continued)*

SHOT GUN WEDDING. A strong movement is now on in Washington to see that the governments that get Marshall plan help "must, during that period, suspend political experimentation with systems proclaimed to be hostile to our own." If such a limitation were applied only to the Communist controlled governments, it might make some sense. But the present blind but powerful elements in Congress (which howl down all progressive social reforms as "Communistic" and are ignorant of the inevitable trends and needs of Europe) will make a big drive in the next few months to make the Marshall plan what Leland Stowe calls "a shot-gun wedding with capitalism." If they succeed and American aid to Europe becomes such a crusade, the chaos thus created would fit beautifully into the forecasts and plans of the Kremlin.

BRITISH TORIES AWAKEN. This realization of the true state of affairs in the world has been belatedly recognized by the conservative Tories of England. After blindly refusing to modernize the British industrial system while they continued to squeeze out the last penny of profit, and stubbornly resisting the demands of a changing Empire situation until the Empire was on the rocks, they have now made a public acknowledgment of the fact that nationalization of British resources has been necessary! The recent endorsement of nationalization by the British Conservatives was a blow to their financial collaborators in this country, and it is interesting to note that the American press either ignored the news altogether or gave little attention to it. Of course, the acknowledgment of the Tories that the nationalization program was necessary reveals what *Between The Lines* has often reported, - that we are only allowed to hear of Laborite failures in this country and have been permitted to learn little of their successes. This recent move among the English reactionaries indicates that if the Laborites should be displaced by the younger Conservatives now taking the lead, a program considered decidedly left-wing by capitalist voices of this country would be continued.

AMERICA MUST LEAD. That means *that American capitalism really stands alone in the world. Will American capitalism understand this situation and the reasons for capitalism's failure in England, on the continent and in the areas of its former domination in Asia?* Will we see it with sufficient understanding to check the selfishness and blindness in our own country that has already wrecked capitalism throughout the world?

We sincerely believe that American capitalism has produced the best way of life that has ever been known in human experience, but with the vast growth of man's material powers and the increased awareness of the common man through widespread education, - no such system can long endure without enlightened and unselfish leadership. Will we find that leadership - in time?

COMMUNISM VS. AMERICAN LABOR. The fight against communism in the American labor movement has broken out all over the place! Both the AFL and the CIO in their recent national conventions carried the fight from the underground channels of their organizational life out into the flood lights. The Communists have never had a foothold in the powerful AFL groups, but the AFL leaders made it clear that the Communist, with his concepts of dictatorship and "a worker proletariat" is something very distasteful to the organized American worker. Also, the CIO, headed by a devout Catholic layman, Philip Murray, has made it clear that any Communist action within the CIO unions is now considered as subversive and against the workers' interests. "On guard" was the theme of the CIO leaders in their references to communism. Murray has striven to keep the CIO from breaking up over the red issue, but even the Communist-dominated electric workers' group are being forced to do their fighting in the open. The Communist minority in the American labor unions (always deceptive and dirty in their tactics and closely adhering to the Moscow line rather than to the hopes and aims of the American worker) are admittedly fighting a retreating war. Some of the strongest anti-Communist CIO leaders, such as Walter Reuther of the auto workers, are Socialists, but they are making it very clear that any socialism they work for must come through open democratic methods such as prevail today in England, Sweden, New Zealand and elsewhere and must bear no resemblance to the Russians' "Socialism."

Nationalization Trends

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months and the undecided 15 per cent would likely make up their minds . . . only a comparatively small shift among the 63 per cent would change the picture still further — and a depression would cause such a shift.

About the same percentages of opinion are believed to exist relative to the nationalization of railroads and public power. It is now known that the labor unions — including the powerful Railroad Brotherhood, — are already secretly committed to the nationalization program (when the time becomes ripe for it). So England may not stand alone in this in a few years. **It is a question America will be facing in a few years.**

Negro Voting

The most influential Negro organization in America is the national Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This group, working through its state organizations, is sponsoring decisive and significant action to combat race discrimination in voting requirements, transportation and housing. It is well to mention that the N.A.A.C.P., though directed by well-trained, constructive leadership, is receiving the vigorous backing of the powerful CIO and AFL unions that have been organizing Negroes in such large numbers in the past few years. The N.A.A.C.P. program calls for direct legal action to protect the civic rights of the Negro citizen. Two such legal efforts have already been carried through the courts so successfully and conclusively that they leave the supporters of the white supremacy in an admittedly illegal and undemocratic position. The historic decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in April, 1944, held that the right to participate in primaries and elections provided for by State law could not be denied to Negroes. And when South Carolina tried the device of removing all primary laws from the statutes, thus converting the Democratic party into a private club that could bar Negroes from membership, — that procedure too was ruled against in a Federal District Court in Charleston, S. C., in a test case brought by Negroes.

A similar device, adopted in Georgia when Herman Talmadge was acting governor, was nullified when Melvin E. Thompson was declared governor by the Georgia Supreme Court. In Alabama, the electorate voted for an amendment requiring would-be voters to "explain and interpret" the Constitution to qualify for franchise privileges; this is conceded to have been aimed at Negro voters of lower education standards who would have to appear before white registration boards.